

SOCIAL



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by

Douglas Horton

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Lenore Krassner and George Mercer are the young artists who were responsible for the design of our new cover; they have studied at the Hans Hofmann School of Fine Arts in New York.

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This Too is our Problem

Our inevitable preoccupation with the war in Europe has tended to divert attention from the older and equally tragic conflict which is still raging between Japan and China. Dr. Horton's clear-cut statement calls us back, sharply, to the issues involved in the Sino-Japanese strife, pointing out what many Americans have never fully realized and what many others are prone to disclaim, viz., America's share in the guilt of the war and our responsibility as citizens and Christians for a peace which will enable each nation to develop its own life and yet take a neighborly place in the family of nations.

After successful pastorates in New England and the Middle West, Dr. Horton was elected Secretary and Minister of the General Council of Congregational and Christian Churches in 1938. Soon after his installation he went as a delegate to the Madras Conference and travelled extensively in the East before assuming the active duties of his office. His observations during this world tour, together with years of study and of active interest in Christian internationalism, combine to give particular significance to the article which forms the substance of this issue of SOCIAL ACTION.

- Oscar E. Maurer
- *Moderator of the General Council*

TOWARD A PEACEFUL PACIFIC

• by DOUGLAS HORTON

"Can you picture the scene? The quiet of a country village; men, women and children gathered round the hand mill grinding wheat for the evening meal; the cry of terror as the raider power-dived on his mission of death; the falling bomb, the explosion, the mangled bodies, the gaping wounds, the dead child lying by the dead mother—such was last week's horror at S.....

"When will it end? I wish I could put the question with so much force that it would haunt you by day and by night. It is not a question for us in Asia alone. It is your problem also. Suppose I were to sit complacently by in this life and death struggle fooling myself with the thought that it was not after all my war. Your contempt for my failure to identify myself with the suffering Chinese people would be immediate and deserved. You are further removed from the conflict than I. How else is your position different from mine?" (From the letter of a missionary. "Christians in Action," by Seven Missionaries, Longmans Green and Co., p. 111.)

These two paragraphs from the letter of a Christian missionary in China bring one up short. The war between China and Japan is no little thing: the scene described in the letter has been duplicated in hundreds of localities throughout northern and central China and to some extent in southern China. The Imperial Navy of Japan patrols a coast roughly equivalent in distance to that which stretches from Maine down the Atlantic seaboard and across the Gulf of Mexico to the Mexican line. The Japanese armies have penetrated, up the Yangtze River, to Hankow and beyond. It is as if foreign armies, after a conquest of New York, had advanced in the interior as far as Toledo or Cincinnati and now held that far-flung line with garrisons strategically located. Considered solely from the geographic point of view, it is a war of huge dimensions.

The situation is as the missionary indicates: economically and spiritually the war in the Far East has cast its black shadow over the whole Pacific basin. It must be a naive American indeed who can believe that the United States has had nothing to do with causing the war and will in no way be affected by its outcome.

Why Japan Went to War

What is the war all about? Let the Japanese government speak first:

THE STATEMENT OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

Dated August 15, 1937

"The Imperial Japanese Government, in its desire to secure permanent peace in East Asia, has always striven to promote friendship and cooperation between Japan and China. However, an atmosphere of hostility towards Japan has been created throughout China by anti-Japanese agitations used as an instrument by the Nanking Government to arouse public opinion and to enhance its own political power. The Chinese, over-confident of their national strength, contemptuous of our power, and also in league with the Communists, have assumed toward Japan an increasingly arrogant and insulting attitude. . . .

"The present Incident is but the inevitable outcome of this situation. Dynamite had been ignited; the inevitable explosion merely happened to occur on the banks of the Yunting. In South and Central China, Japanese lives and property have been so jeopardized that our people have been compelled to evacuate, abandoning everything they had acquired after years of incessant toil.

"As has been frequently declared since the outbreak of the present Incident, the Japanese Government, exercising utmost patience and restraint, has steadfastly pursued a policy of non-aggravation of the situation, and has endeavored to reach a settlement locally and in a peaceful manner. In the Peiping and Tientsin area, our Garrison, in the face of countless Chinese provocations and lawless actions, has done no more than was absolutely necessary to secure lines of communications and to protect Japanese nationals there.

"On the other hand, our Government advised the Nanking Government to put an immediate stop to all provocative acts, and to refrain from obstructing the negotiations being conducted on the spot. The Nanking Government not only refused to follow our counsel, but proceeded toward the completion of war-like preparations against us.

In flagrant violation of solemn military agreements, the Chinese moved vast armies northward menacing our Garrison, and concentrated troops in and around Shanghai. Their provocative attitude became more clearly defined at Hankow. Finally at Shanghai, the Chinese opened fire upon our naval headquarters and bombed our warships from the air.

"In this manner have the Chinese insulted our Government, committed acts of unpardonable atrocity against our country, and gravely endangered the lives and property of our nationals throughout China. They have finally exhausted the patience of the Japanese Government. It has thus become imperative to take drastic measures in order to chastise the lawless Chinese troops and to impress upon the Nanking Government the necessity for reconsideration of its attitude toward Japan. . . .

"Needless to say, the Japanese Government harbours no territorial designs. Its sole intention is to bring to reason the Nanking Government and the Kuomintang Party both of which have persistently incited anti-Japanese sentiments among the Chinese people. The Japanese bear no ill-will toward the innocent Chinese masses. In conclusion we hereby state that the Japanese Government will spare no efforts in safeguarding foreign rights and interests in China." (Tokyo Gazette, August 1937, p. 42)

When one reviews this statement carefully, it becomes clear that the Japanese give three reasons for waging war against China.

(1) With the phrase, "contemptuous of our power," and the reference to anti-Japanese agitations is bound up the whole matter of *national prestige*. We in the West sometimes talk disparagingly of the importance given to "saving face" in the Orient, but surely history offers abundant illustration of the fact that the protection of national honor has been the source of many wars in the western world as well. Japan is an adolescent and vital nation, only yesterday transformed from feudal social patterns into a modern and powerful industrial state. It is not strange that Japan should especially resent having the finger of scorn pointed at her by China, old and comparatively weak.

Japanese pride has been injured by other foreign nations, including the United States. In 1904 a law was passed by the United States Congress forever prohibiting the immigration

of Chinese laborers into this country. Not wishing to be similarly humiliated, Japan from that time on refused to grant passports to America to Japanese laborers. This decision was embodied in the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907. Gentlemen do not alter their relations with one another without first talking things over. But without so much as a "by your leave," the government of the United States deprived the Japanese government of the power which the latter had already voluntarily relinquished, but still legally held, by passing the so-called "Japanese Exclusion" provision of the Immigration Act of 1924 which forbade the immigration of Japanese laborers into the United States.

Treated as a junior member of the family of nations, Japan's plea for racial equality at Versailles was rejected. There is irony in the fact that Japan won recognition as a world power only after a series of military successes.

But contempt from China was the last straw. The ambitious nation was sensitive to any suspicion of scorn from a neighbor for whose accomplishments she had little respect.

(2) The reference in the statement by the Japanese government to Communists and to the Chinese "war-like preparations against us" reveals a second source of difficulty: The Japanese feel it is necessary to their national life that their islands should be *protected from the fear of invasion* from the continent. A set of buffer states along the northwest frontier of China from Manchoukuo to Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) seems to them to mark the *sine qua non* of Japanese safety.

It is fair to say that Japan fears Russia more than she fears China. Although the Japanese Army and Navy acquitted themselves well against Russia in the war which ended in 1905, the fruits of the victory were less than had been hoped for, and today Japan realizes that she must face a far more virile Russia than the decadent empire of the Czars. Vladivostok has not only increased in commercial importance in the last generation but in the last decade has become a powerful air and

submarine base—only a few hours away from Tokyo. When the writer was in Japan a year ago, the various cities of the Empire were rehearsing air raid precautions. At times during certain nights every visible light in the community would be extinguished and people found on the streets were not allowed even to move until the signal for the termination of the black-out had been given. Everybody knew that China then had no air bases near enough to send raiders to Japan. There was only one thought in the minds of the Japanese: Russia! As a careful student of the Eastern situation has said, "A profound fear of Russia lies in the background of all Japanese policy."

Imagine now what the Japanese might expect if a hostile Russia should unite with China to crush them. This is the nightmare which has haunted the chambers of every party governing Japan in our generation. If Russia should begin to exploit the fabulous resources of eastern Siberia, where almost limitless forests cover unknown wealth of mineral deposits, and if China could organize her millions for aggressive warfare, such a combination of forces between the Soviets and the Chinese might be effected as would at least limit Japan to her islands and might crush her to a mere memory of her present self.

And we, in America, are not blameless. Japanese prestige has been wounded and her security threatened by certain actions of our government.

A group of people were sitting at a dining room table in a private home in Chicago before the outbreak of the war. A mature and thoughtful Japanese was present. "And what would you say was the cause of Japanese unrest?" asked the hostess.

"You," said the Japanese quietly. "I mean the American nation. Japan realizes that the European powers are far away, but the United States lies just on the other side of the Pacific—and the Pacific itself, thanks to modern transportation, is drying up into a narrow strip of water. Japan has seen the

United States acquire a foothold in the Philippines; she has seen the United States perform naval maneuvers in the Pacific directed against no other country in the world but herself; and all in all, though the American people as private citizens have shown themselves wonderfully generous toward Japan both at the time of the earthquake and during all the years when Christian missionaries have built schools and hospitals and preached the gospel there, Japan has been given by the United States government little to expect but hostility."

That these words faithfully report the feeling of a great many Japanese and only too well describe the natural effect upon them of many actions taken by our government is a simple and regrettable fact of history.

(3) Further reference to the statement of the Japanese government, together with a little reading between the lines, reveals a third motive which has brought on the war. "Our people have been compelled to evacuate (certain areas in China), abandoning everything they had acquired after years of incessant toil": Japan has had to look to China as a place where her people could meet their *acute economic needs*. Even casual travel through the cities and towns of Japan gives one the impression of a country teeming with life. The ever-present baby on the mother's back is testimony that the birth rate in the island is not low. Indeed the population there has been increasing at the incredible rate of a million a year, though the entire population today comprises only seventy million. Land seems to be utilized to the limit: the sides of hills and mountains which in Europe would be regarded as fit for nothing save forestation are often, with the utmost outlay of skill and energy, carved into clinging terraces on which the staple grains are grown. Under such circumstances Japan needs more land. Under such circumstances it is natural that many of her people should have sought their livelihood in Manchuria and in China proper.

Once more America enters the scene. Japanese laborers,

as we have seen, have been shut out of continental United States. Our reasons for taking such action may have been conceived with the best possible intention, but the fact remains that Japan has felt driven to discover some other outlet as a means of caring for her population.

Industrialization seemed to provide a way to supply the Japanese people with necessities at home, and to this end Japan has taken a leaf from the history of England. She has built enormous factory cities and trained her island population to barter their goods throughout the seven seas. Unfortunately, she lacks almost all the raw materials necessary for modern industry and these she must bring back from abroad in exchange for the products she sells. The period immediately following the first World War was a time of amazing expansion of Japanese industry, but in the late twenties the flood of Japanese products into other countries, including our own, was suddenly reduced by the erection of high tariff barriers. Japan was forced to find new markets for her goods.

Again she turned to China. This time she found a nation on the defensive and she was met by boycotts and anti-Japanese agitation. But at home the people were in need of bread: could she accept with equanimity exclusion from China?

Why China Went to War

Now let us turn to the reasons why China has gone to war:

Address by Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Executive Yuan
National Government of China, July 17, 1937

"When China was carrying out its cardinal policy of maintaining external peace and internal unity the Lukouchiao incident suddenly broke out, throwing the nation into a state of profound indignation and causing great concern to the whole world.

"1.—The Chinese race has always been peace-loving. The internal policy of the National Government has always been directed towards maintaining internal unity and, in our foreign relations, mutual respect and co-existence with other nations. In February of this year, at the Plenary Session, a manifesto was issued in which these points were clearly emphasized. For the last two years, as actual facts show, the

National Government in its policy towards Japan has constantly sought to confine all pending problems to proper, recognized channels of diplomacy, so that just settlements could be reached.

"Our people should understand our national position. We must realize our own position. As a people of a weak nation we should evaluate justly the degree of our own strength. . . .

"But although we are a weak country, if unfortunately we should have reached that last limit, then there is only one thing to do, that is to throw the last ounce of energy of our nation into the struggle for national existence. And when that is done neither time nor circumstance will permit our stopping midway to seek peace. We should realize that to seek peace after war has once begun means that the terms would be such that the subjugation of our nation and the complete annihilation of our race would be encompassed. . . .

"2.—There may be people who imagine that the Lukouchiao incident was a sudden and unpremeditated step. But already a month ago there were symptoms that an incident would ensue because of the statements from the other side, made both through their press, and directly and indirectly through diplomatic channels. Besides, before and after the incident we received news from various sources to the effect that the opposite side were aiming to expand the Tangku Agreement; enlarge the bogus 'East Hopei Government'; drive out the 29th Army; force out General Sung Cheh-yuan; and try to impose similar other demands. . . .

"Any country in the world that has the least self-respect could not possibly accept such humiliation. The four Northeastern Provinces have already been lost to us for six years; following that there was the Tangku Agreement, and now the point of conflict—Lukouchiao—has reached the very gates of Peiping. . . . If finally we reach the stage where it is impossible to avoid the inevitable, then we cannot do otherwise than resist and be prepared for the supreme sacrifice. This resistance is forced upon us, we are not seeking war, we are meeting attacks upon our existence.

"3.—At this solemn moment Japan will have to decide whether the Lukouchiao incident will result in a major war between China and Japan. Whether or not there is the least vestige of any hope for peace between China and Japan depends upon the action of the Japanese army. . . ."

(China Reference Series, Vol. 2, January 28, 1938, Documents Concerning the Sino-Japanese Conflict, page 3. Published by Trans-Pacific News Service.)

It is not necessary to review the above statement in detail

to discover that the reasons why China has gone to war are similar to those which have animated Japan.

(1) *National honor* is at stake. "Any country in the world that has the least self respect could not possibly accept such humiliation." China is large geographically: Japan is small. China has vast resources of man power: Japan comparatively few. These very comparisons encourage China to assert herself, or at least to refuse to be overshadowed by the lesser power.

Furthermore, the history of the relations of the two nations since Japan took the Liuchu Islands from China in 1874 has been one of increasing political and economic encroachment on the Japanese side and of deepening fear on the side of the Chinese. In 1894 and '95, following the first war, China ceded to Japan Formosa, the Pescadores Islands, and the Liaotung Peninsula at the southern end of Manchuria. In 1910 Japan annexed Korea, formerly tributary to China. In 1914 Japan as England's ally took control of Tsingtao, the port in Shantung formerly held by Germany, and also the former German island possessions in the northern Pacific. In 1915, the "Twenty-one Demands," while not accepted in full, practically sought to place China in the role of a protectorate under Japanese domination. In 1931, Japanese armies occupied Manchuria and in 1932, the state of Manchoukuo was established. In 1933, the province of Jehol was annexed to Manchoukuo. Finally on July 7, 1937, came the Lukouchiao Incident—the outbreak of the present war.

Modern psychology teaches that when a sense of inferiority strikes deep enough in the mind, some form of compensation, often taking the shape of aggressiveness, is to be expected. The increasing control of China by the Japanese finally reached a point beyond which China could not go: President Chiang Kai-shek summoned his people to reestablish themselves in the eyes of the world by resisting the Japanese invasion, and they rose to the challenge almost as one man.

America's share in developing an inferiority complex in

China has already been described. We have not only shut Chinese laborers out of our country—a measure which may have been necessary for the protection of laborers already here—but we have done it in such a way, assigning the Chinese to a status inferior to that of ordinary immigrants, that China could only bite her lip, resentful but powerless. Extra-territoriality, customs' control and the maintenance of defense forces by "foreigners" have been equally humiliating. We must concede that America has had her own part in developing in China a demand for self-assertion which has now blazed out in open warfare against Japan.

(2) Japan has feared the Chinese "*war-like preparations* against us." China has been equally afraid of Japan's increasing strength. The growth of the Japanese Empire at China's expense and the history of the last two years have proved that the Japanese military machine is powerful enough to strike fear into the heart of any near neighbor.

It must not be forgotten, however, that Japan has been only one of several nations which have caused China to feel the need of military strength. One of the sights that meets the eye of every traveler in Peiping and causes him no little wonder is the strongly walled legations of the foreign powers. When one enters the great gate in the wall erected to protect the American buildings, he is met by a marine sentry who stands at salute while he passes. Behind one of the larger buildings lies the ground on which the marines drill daily. It is quite necessary, if one may judge from the experiences of the Boxer Uprising, that strong walls and well-drilled marine battalions should be maintained in Peiping for the protection of the representatives of the United States government assigned there. But the Chinese are naturally suspicious and fearful of strong walls and marines that seem to proclaim America has a stake in the Orient which she will protect by the use of force. It is almost as if the Chinese owned a large plot of land in the heart of the city of Washington and forti-

fied it so strongly as to make it seem a Chinese military outpost. It is safe to say that our own reaction to the presence of such a creation in our capital city would be a call for adequate national defense—and so it has been in China.

China has not of course had anything like the occasion to fear the United States that she has had to fear Japan. In general, we have simply enjoyed without fighting what other nations—particularly Great Britain and France—have obtained by force. And we have made diplomatic efforts to preserve China's political integrity. It may be said, however, that by our association with imperialistic powers we have added fuel to her fear of her neighbors, and that Japan by her invasion has fanned her fear into flame.

(3) Bread is the great need of Japan and, if we are to judge from Chiang Kai-shek's manifesto, it is to protect its *bread supply* that China has gone to war. China feels that it can do for itself economically what Japan cannot do. China feels that it can look after its own interests and that its resources should be utilized to improve the low standard of living of its own vast population. Says the President: "The terms (of any peace drawn by Japan) would be such that the subjugation of our nation and the complete annihilation of our race would be encompassed." The fear is not that the Chinese nation would be massacred by the Japanese—it is only that the Japanese would gain such control that the 400 million of the population could be politically subjugated and kept in perennial poverty.

Again the Chinese fear of economic encroachment has been in part aggravated by what America has done. In common with other western powers we, until recently, have insisted upon control of custom rates. We have demanded certain extra-territorial rights in China which in effect deny the sovereignty of that nation within its own boundaries. We share in the privileges of the International Settlements in Shanghai and Amoy. It is as if we were to set up in the city of London,

England, a center to which our business men could come, where they would be protected from the laws of England, and whence would emanate influences directed to altering the laws of England for the benefit of our American business. How long would the people of England endure such a thing? One can be certain that they would not endure it any longer than they could help—and so it is with the Chinese. They resent foreign interference with their economic integrity.

China is fighting for her honor, for her political existence, and for her means of livelihood.

What of the Future?

The foregoing account, if it suggests nothing else, points to the fact that the war between China and Japan is no light quarrel which can be resolved by the easy readjustment of surface relations. The war derives from fundamental human needs. Both China and Japan are asking for respect, for safety, and for food.

There are only four ways for either nation to secure the two latter demands:

(1) One nation may *overcome* and force its will upon the other. By this means it will secure the first desideratum also.

But history teems with illustrations of the hopelessness of this type of adjustment. It was a Japanese who observed to the writer not long ago that one group of people may cause another group to bury their aspirations for the time being, but that they cannot prevent resurrection. Japan in control of China would be a Japan in a position of police surveillance which would cost in men and money far more than the situation could be depended upon to produce. It would be a continuation of the situation in China today. The total Japanese casualties in the Chinese campaigns, according to a statement by the Foreign Policy Association, now amount to between 750 thousand and one million. The national budget is unbalanced. Loan issues are subscribed with growing diffi-

culty. The production system is strained to the utmost, and domestic prices have continued to rise despite all efforts at control. The situation may persist for many years to come, so great are the moral resources of the Japanese people, so measureless their ability to make sacrifice for their nation. These sacrifices, however, cannot go on forever. The 400 million Chinese are simply too many to be controlled by force—guerilla tactics, if not biological absorption, must tell in the end against any conqueror.

If on the other hand China should expel the Japanese armies by military means alone, a situation of equal futility would result. The Japanese, like the English and the Swiss, are not to be adjudged weak because they are small. A defeat might well be regarded as a temporary reverse to be rectified as soon as new resources could be developed.

There is nothing to be said for this kind of adjustment.

(2) A second way for either nation to secure safety and economic security may be to *yield* to the other. If Japan be taken at her word, she is in a position to do for China, in the spheres both of military defense and of industrialization, more than China is able to do for herself. The Chinese do not seem ready as yet to yield to this Japanese claim. Even if the claim were well founded, it would involve an intolerable loss of dignity and freedom for China. One of the presuppositions of any lasting peace settlement is that both China and Japan should maintain their national sovereignty in a real sense.

(3) The two nations might follow the procedure each has attempted in times past: they might *isolate* themselves from each other and from the rest of the world, seeking political and economic completeness within themselves.

All that needs to be said about this alternative is that history has proved that it does not work. When a people close their borders to the outside world, they cannot escape the results of inbreeding. Their culture becomes formal and jejune, as did the culture of the Manchus before their overthrow. Their

science is arrested in conformity to traditional standards. They cannot go on beyond their national best in the search for a universal best, which is the vivifying motive of the greater races. Furthermore, both China and Japan have become so dependent upon each other and upon the rest of the world for the means of modern living that the thought of isolation for either of them is fantastic.

(4) *There remains only one possibility: cooperation.* The war may last for half a century; it may be concluded tomorrow; but unless means for cooperation as between two sovereign nations are carefully worked out, the peace can be only an armistice.

What Can America Do?

In reviewing the causes of the war set forth by the two nations, we have noted that the United States of America has participated to a certain degree in creating the occasion for the outbreak of hostilities.

It is not to be inferred from this fact that we should be regarded as having caused the war. There are degrees of moral guilt. The facts, however, on the other hand do not justify the pious reflection that our hands are clean. We have indubitably contributed to that spirit of fierce international competition in the Far East out of which the war has been born.

This being the case, it seems logical and *right for us Americans to consider what we may do to help bring the war to a close and to establish in eastern Asia the cooperation which alone can assure peace* to the troubled nations there.

The first requisite for a peaceful solution of the Incident and for genuine cooperation between the two countries in the future is the withdrawal of the two armies from the disputed area; and as Japan is the only one of the belligerents whose armies are on soil admittedly foreign, it behooves Japan to retire her forces within the boundaries of her own dominion.

The conscience of the Christian citizens of the United States seems unanimous upon this point. International disputes can be adjusted only by war or by arbitration; and the only type of adjustment which leads to cooperation is the latter. It is obviously impossible, however, to arbitrate a dispute unless both parties to it are free from the other's control. If the League of Nations had done nothing else than to arrive at the definition of an aggressor as one who refuses to arbitrate a dispute, it would have been well worth all the devotion and energy that went into creating it—and the first principle of arbitration is that the parties to it should face each other on equal footing. Let us grant that the difficulties in eastern Asia will never be resolved until Japan is honored by the rest of the world and freed from the fear of invasion and economic distress—it does not follow from this that the way for her to achieve these ends is by depriving China of them. *The first step toward arbitration is the withdrawal of the Imperial forces from the soil of China.*

What are the policies which might influence Japan to take this first step?

Boycott

Many American citizens believe that the best way to effect this withdrawal is by an American boycott of Japanese goods. (The following arguments on the pros and cons of the boycott are taken from "The Debaters' Digest" for February, 1938.)

(a) A boycott by American consumers would be an *effective* method of causing Japan to call home her troops because she is unable to wage war on her own resources. She has to secure from abroad much of her coal, five-sixths of her oil, and practically all of her rubber, mercury, tin, and cotton—and these she can secure only by exporting and selling her own products to foreign countries. Owing to the expenses she has undergone for her military program in the past, her credit is diminishing, and the values of the properties in China of

which she has acquired possession and which she had hoped to use as security for further credit are so uncertain that in order to buy abroad at all she must lay on the broker's counter the actual products of her mills, and not merely promises to pay.

In 1936, the last year for which figures are available, the United States purchased almost one-third (31 per cent) of Japanese goods sold abroad. This means that a consumers' boycott in this country would cut down, by one-third, Japanese ability to purchase war materials from her running accounts.

(b) It is further argued that the consumers' boycott would be not only an effective but a *desirable* method of arresting Japan's course in China. It is pointed out that it would not involve our government, since it would be carried on only by private citizens. Such a boycott would not seriously injure any group in the United States, since merchants have already prepared themselves for it by reducing their stock of Japanese goods. American manufacturers and workers would be confronted only with a necessity for adjustment, since the majority of the machines used in the industries requiring Japanese products—such as the manufacture of silk fabrics—can be fed with good substitutes.

(c) The most forceful argument of all, however, is that a boycott would be to the best interests of the Japanese themselves, since it would release Japan from the domination of the military groups—and it is probably true that Japan cannot return to the path of her own highest destiny until the army group now in power loses face and gives over the government into the hands of the more constructive political forces in Japan.

The Christian people in America, however, are not all convinced of the soundness of this line of thought. The counter argument runs as follows:

(a) It is held that the proposed boycott would *not be as effective* as its proponents claim. Recent history shows that the

application of economic pressure from foreign nations does not prevent a nation from prosecuting its wars: witness the application of sanctions against Italy at the time of the Ethiopian Incident. Furthermore, Japan is well prepared to resist the effects of any boycott. She has had a dress rehearsal for the American boycott in those instituted by China before the war began—and she has learned to distribute the shock of such an experience over the total population in such a way that no group is too severely taxed by it. Studies of Japan's economic structure by impartial investigators reveal a truth not ordinarily accepted in America by those who allow their wish to be the father of their thought—that Japan may be able to carry on her war at the present tempo for an almost indefinite period, and that in these circumstances a popular boycott, though it might slow up Japanese aggression, would not actually stop it.

(b) Say what one will, any boycott is *economically destructive*. It curses him that gives and him that takes. An American boycott of Japanese goods might seriously reduce the market for American cotton and would at best cause serious difficulties in the American industries which fabricate goods from materials imported from Japan. Even though much of the machinery used in the silk industry could be utilized for the manufacture of fabrics made from rayon and other substitutes, adjustment to the new conditions would inevitably cast many men and women out of work, and 40 per cent of the machines standing idle—those capable of using only silk—would mean idleness for 40 per cent of the operators. "In the case of a dollar pair of silk stockings, the silk in them represents only about 8c. to 15c., with 10c. probably a fair average. Thus in order to do 10c. of damage to Japan we should expose the American silk industry and the American silk workers to a potential damage of 90c."—Thus an authority.

(c) It is further pointed out that a boycott, instead of reaching the military group against which it is aimed, would most

affect the men, women, and children of Japan, with whom the American people have no quarrel whatever. Against these people it would apply more cruel weapons of offense than those used even by an army, for death may come quickly from a bullet wound, but must be gradual from starvation. Sanctions, as Mussolini said, are really war. An effective boycott would be a threat to the peace which has been sustained between Japan and the United States since the American Commodore Perry made the celebrated visit to Japan which proved to be the occasion of that nation's birth into modernity. Such a boycott would destroy America's chance for influencing Japan in the direction of cooperation after the war is over.

In this area, *the Christian individual, after careful study of the actual situation—study pursued in the mood of prayer—must decide for himself whether or not he ought to accept the boycott as an instrument for his own use.* The Church speaks with uncertain voice here, since this is the realm of methodology. It is in quite a different realm, as we shall see later, that the Church can and does speak out of conviction with a firm "Thus saith the Lord."

If the manufacturers of the new silk substitute "nylon" are justified in their claim that it is superior in quality to silk itself, it will quickly displace the use of the latter, since it can be sold more cheaply—and the whole question of a silk boycott will be resolved.

Embargo

A second proposal before the American people has to do not with what we import from Japan but what we export. As the Gallup polls indicate, *an increasing number of voices are demanding that the government restrain American citizens from sending to Japan those materials which can be used for the prosecution of the war.* On this whole subject the best and completest statement is that of the speech by the Hon. Lewis B. Schwellenbach of Washington, delivered in the Senate of the United States on August 2, 1938. Senator Schwellenbach's

facts and his comments upon the facts in this connection must cause most Americans to catch their breath:

"There can be no question but that to a very material extent Japan is depending upon the United States for the materials which the Japanese are using in this war. We are participating in the Sino-Japanese War today. I know Senators have all read figures that we are furnishing 56 per cent* of the materials which might be used in the war, and I know that the Members of this Body were all shocked, knowing as they did of our treaty obligations and our relationship with China, to hear that we were furnishing 56 per cent of the materials used in the war. But 56 per cent is a deceptive figure, because in the matter of the most important articles the percentage we are furnishing is actually more than 56 per cent. These are the figures as to some of the articles we are furnishing, figures compiled for the year 1938:

Petroleum and products, 65.57 per cent.

Scrap or old iron and steel, 90.39 per cent.

Ferro-alloys, 82.71 per cent.

Other iron and steel semi-manufactures, 53.65 per cent.

Copper, 90.89 per cent.

Metals and alloys, not elsewhere specified in the list from which I am reading, 99.33 per cent.

Automobiles and parts, 64.67 per cent.

Metal-working machinery, 67.09 per cent.

Aircraft and parts, 76.92 per cent.

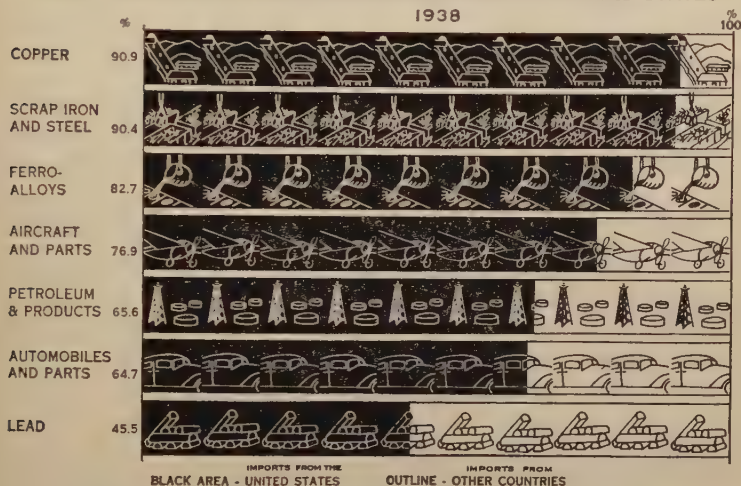
So that as to the very important materials, we are furnishing a much higher percentage than the 56 per cent* which is furnished by us on the average."

Dr. Walter Judd has for many years been a doctor working under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in a hospital in China. He is so deeply convinced that the war in the Far East must be settled in this country that he has actually for the time being given up his profession as a doctor and is devoting himself, entirely at his own expense, although he can ill afford to do so, to telling the American people through lectures and through his writings what the situation in China is and what they may do to alter it. He often carries

*56 per cent of materials *imported* for war purposes.

JAPAN'S TOTAL IMPORTS OF ESSENTIAL WAR SUPPLIES AND THE EXTENT OF HER DEPENDENCE UPON THE UNITED STATES

1938



Courtesy, The American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression

with him a little bag—a heavy little bag—heavy because of what it contains. From it he draws pieces of scrap iron which he has removed in his own hospital from the bodies of dying Chinese. Americans, for sake of self-complacency, had best inquire no further into the source of these ugly bits of metal—for Japan has obtained at least one-third of her destructive material from the scrap iron yards and steel mills of our country.

It is our war; we are in partnership with Japan. The Japanese army is enduring the suffering; we are reaping the profits.

Say what one will of Japanese aggression, for the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people this is a holy war. They are dedicated to the idea of peace and prosperity for the whole of eastern Asia. They believe they are doing the Chinese a service in relieving them of the present Nationalist government. They are fighting for national honor, integrity, life. As for us Americans, however, our honor is not at stake and we need neither greater political power nor more bread. For the sake of a few

extra dollars some of our people are willing to trade in the blood of their fellow human beings as one might trade in crude oil, and others accept without question the dividends from such trade.

The other extreme is the opposite of the course we have been pursuing: instead of acting as Japan's ally we might actively go to war against her. No American in his right mind, however, so far as the writer knows, has advocated such a policy. The American people are fundamentally friendly to the Japanese people. We admire them for what they have done. We believe that the world needs the ability of the Japanese to organize and to achieve. One often hears it said that the Japanese are the Americans of eastern Asia. War with Japan would seem to Americans who have come to know Japan to be as evil and disastrous as a civil war. That way madness lies.

A suggested middle course is that of non-participation in Japanese aggression by *governmental* embargo on the export of materials directly essential to the prosecution of the war. The argument is that by such means we should enter into no quarrel with the Japanese people and should indeed take from their shoulders the mounting burden of taxation induced by the war.

On the other hand, it is said that any such use of economic force is intervention in a deadly conflict and that it will almost inevitably lead to military activity. Witness the way in which the League of Nations powers backed down after Italy stated that economic sanctions would be treated as an act of war. It is believed that the United States would sooner or later have to choose between such a futile as well as humiliating experience and actual war, with the chances this time in favor of the second alternative.

This session of Congress *may take action* forbidding the export of war materials to Japan. Congress will act if and when it knows that the American people demand action. Unless diplomatic arrangements for its extension are previously made,

the denunciation of the 1911 commercial treaty with Japan becomes fully effective on January 26, 1940, and the way will be legally clear for such embargo legislation.

There are those who would prefer to see congressional action which authorized the President to apply an embargo only when, as and if diplomatic procedures such as are now in progress fail to bring peace with reasonable justice in Eastern Asia. They believe such flexibility would increase the chances of success by diplomatic means.

Those who favor any type of action should express themselves immediately to their senators and representatives. The matter is of such vital importance that every conscientious citizen should record his opinion.

A second means of separating ourselves from the war in China is to bring our fellow citizens, not as a result of governmental action but *on their own*, to relinquish their partnership with the Japanese militarists and to give up their hunger for profits at the expense of human life. One reads the following note of the Labor Research Association (*Steel and Metal Notes*, July, 1939, p. 3) with a heavy heart:

JAPAN HELPED BY U. S. FIRM

"United Engineering & Foundry Co. of Pittsburgh announced, June 28, 1939, that it had received orders for 'several million dollars' worth of steel mill equipment from two Japanese firms. All work will be done in company's plants in this country.

"An 86-inch semi-continuous plate mill will be made for a company at Hirohata, Japan, and a sheet rolling mill for Sumitomo Metal Industries, Ltd., of Osaka. The plate mill will be delivered in a year and the sheet mill within six months.

"Report in Moody's *Industrials* (June 3) indicates, furthermore, that United Engineering & Foundry Co. is making a sizeable contribution to building up of Japanese imperialism's armament industry by shipping out a whole plant to Manchoukuo and thus throwing several hundred American workers out of jobs. It says: "'On May 31, 1939, G. T. Ladd, president of the United Engineering & Foundry Co., reported that company is providing 49% of the capital of a new company being organized in Tokyo,

Japan, for manufacture of rolling-mill equipment. The new company known as the Shibaura Engineering Co., is capitalized at 16,000,000 yen, of which United is providing 7,840,000, chiefly in the form of machinery from its Wooster, Ohio, plant. Dismantling of the plant for shipment to Japan will begin in about a month. United will not contribute any cash and agrees only to supervise construction of the plant in Japan.' "

The following letter has recently been sent to America by a group of Chinese young people among whom an American missionary is at work. Please read it, gentlemen of the board of directors of the United Engineering and Foundry Company, and any others in a similar position, before you take your next vote on a Japanese order.

DEAR AMERICAN FRIENDS:

Some of us Chinese who live in what is still "free China" (territory not occupied by Japanese troops) wonder if you know that perplexing thoughts are in our minds these days.

Not many months ago airplanes flew over our region, dropping bombs that killed many of our people and demolished many of our homes and public buildings. Of course, those of us who could fled into the mountains. We have returned, but again we see the dreaded planes.

"You, our American friends, have been very kind in building for us churches and schools and hospitals; why do you now provide our enemy with planes to sight these and leave them and all their valuable equipments in smoldering ruins?

You have been kind in sending us educators and doctors; why do you now provide our enemy with materials for bombs that kill these educators and doctors and our pastors and teachers and doctors, and strew the ruins of our institutions with the corpses of these you have sent to us and those you have sacrificed to serve?

You have been very kind in helping our people rapidly grow into an enlightened and united nation; why do you now provide our enemy with war supplies, making it possible for them to tear our land to pieces, put selfish traitors in office, and by brutal means rob us of life or of freedom?

Our homes are not far from the sea. One day last week, from early morning until night, we heard the pounding of the naval guns as they shelled the shore line, driving our people into the hills. Why do you continue to provide these guns with their shell materials?

It must be that you do not know what is happening here, or you, who we believe are our friends, would not continue to help our enemy kill us and destroy our homes, our schools, our churches, our hospitals, our freedom. Won't you please help inform others who may not know?

Hoping to live to remain

Your friends,

YOUNG PEOPLE OF ONE CITY IN CHINA

America and the Future of Eastern Asia

If cooperation between Japan and China is the grand end to be achieved, it is evident that the mere laying of an embargo is a wholly negative act, in no way serving positively to initiate relations of mutual helpfulness. It may be a first step necessary to the hastening of the cessation of hostilities and the beginnings of arbitration and new relations, but it provides no docket for that arbitration and no program for the new relations. A more vital question than any we have discussed now comes to the fore: What can America do creatively to build up international cooperation in eastern Asia?¹

Before entering upon an answer to this question let us note that it is to the United States more than to any other foreign power that the belligerents must look for aid in the creation of a new order on the eastern seaboard of Asia.

The strategy of Japanese political leaders today is apparently to strengthen the so-called puppet government of occupied China under Wang Ching-wei. One of the steps they will take is to request recognition of this government by other powers. In order to win this recognition they will doubtless be willing to make certain concessions to the other powerful nations with interests in China, although it is hardly to be expected that they will in any way close the door to a full development of Japanese interests in the occupied territory. When the writer was in China a year ago, the greatest fear which oppressed the Chinese with whom he talked was that

1. See various articles by T. A. Bisson, the Far Eastern Expert of the Foreign Policy Association.

Great Britain and France would yield to some such offer by Japan and for the sake of establishing their own conquests in Chinese territory agree to regard Japan as the natural guardian of the Maritime Provinces and the Yangtze River cities over which she has already established her control. Up to date, however, no such agreement has been made, and it is just at this point that the United States is seen to occupy a strategic position of first importance, since it is doubtful if Britain and France would assent to any Japanese proposal which the United States vigorously opposed. In order to firmly establish China as a vassal state, Japan needs either the active assistance or the benevolent aloofness of the United States. It is understandable, therefore, why Mr. Bisson makes the unequivocal statement: "The United States holds the key position and would have to assume the *leading role in the achievement of a genuine peace settlement.*"

To understand what peace involves we have only to go back to the reasons why the two countries have gone to war. The chief part that America can play as a nation is to reconsider her former attitudes and to seek to engender by her own action in the Far East the spirit which will lead to cooperation.

(1) Both China and Japan must be allowed to take their stand as free and independent nations. Only by such means can they maintain the self respect and poise which is essential to peace.

As long as we exclude Chinese and Japanese laborers from the United States, we are far from making our contribution to this state of affairs. If both *China and Japan were placed on the immigration quota* and allowed to send immigrants to us according to the same regulations and restrictions placed upon all other nations—that is, in ratio to the size of the immigrant group already in this country—the consequent handful of laborers coming from these countries could be easily absorbed, and the relations between us and the Orient would be immeasurably improved. If ever, in the future, the numbers of

Asiatics migrating to this country should prove too great for absorption, new restrictions could be added to the general law which would affect other nations no less than China and Japan. The Orient would have no objection to such a procedure.

(2) Both China and Japan must be assured that their political integrity will not be violated. As has been pointed out on many occasions, the feeling of safety is the by-product of friendship. There is no defense so good as the proximity of a good neighbor. It is neighborliness which the Japanese and Chinese both desperately need.

To that neighborliness the United States could make no more considerable contribution than by agreeing to *withdraw her military contingents from the Chinese cities* and her gunboats from Chinese inland waters upon the conclusion of a satisfactory peace. As long as an American gun points from any legation wall or from the gunwale of any naval craft on the rivers of China, American talk about her own peaceful intentions is at a discount. And how, indeed, can America effectively recommend to Japan withdrawal of her troops from China as long as she, America, refuses to withdraw her own?

(3) Both China and Japan must have bread. It needs no expert in logic to prove that both nations will have more bread if they can devote themselves to the arts of peace. The destructive business of war, whether in the Orient or elsewhere on this planet, interferes with the normal economic life of any nation. If only they could devise with each other and with other nations, especially America, reciprocal tariff policies which would give to each the value of maximum economic protection combined with a mutual exchange of goods, the beginnings of civilization would be established between them.

The United States could do not a little toward bringing about these happy circumstances by taking the lead in *renouncing her special privileges and extraterritorial rights in China*. Added to this the United States could do much toward assuring adequate satisfaction of the economic needs of

each country. New Japanese-American and Chinese-American trade treaties, such as Secretary Hull has already concluded with other nations, would develop a confidence in reciprocity which might have important consequences for the mutual relations of the two nations. If peace comes, extensive financial assistance to each country—and what nation will be better able to make this contribution than America—will be required in order that each nation may move successfully through the difficult years of readjusting their war industries to production for peace.

In some such ways as these the United States might begin to make atonement for the sins, large or small, which in the past she has committed in the Orient.

The Conscience of the Christian Church

The action of the United States government, important as it may be, is too remote, however, to satisfy the conscience of the Christian Church. Up to this time we have studiously refrained from attempting to speak the mind of the Christian Church; we have referred only to the opinions and purposes of Christian citizens. Since Christian citizens are divided on the matter of boycotts and embargoes, it is impossible to speak of the Christian Church as having a judgment upon those subjects. Moreover, these matters lie in the realm of methodology where men of perfect goodwill may have different opinions because of their different backgrounds and experiences.

However, when it comes to the matter we are now approaching—the fundamental matter of cooperation between nations—we do find a common mind. The Church is the body of those who believe that God is a God of love and who therefore devote themselves to establishing the law of love in the world. So far as the nations are concerned, this means mutual helpfulness. *The Church believes unequivocally in international cooperation.*

For this cooperation the Church cannot wait upon the action

of governments. Regarding herself as a supranational community devoted to the well-being of humanity as a whole, she seeks constantly to build brotherhood.

Those who are unfamiliar with the facts are wont to regard foreign missions as an attempt on the part of Christians of one nation to indoctrinate the non-Christians of another nation with their own opinions. It cannot be too often repeated, however, that the foreign missionary appointed by such an organization as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is not sent out to disseminate opinion; *he goes to sow seeds of brotherhood*. The Christ who is his master-inspiration never wrote any theology; he lived a life of self-sacrifice and brotherly love. To be sure it requires some sort of theology to explain the sources of Christian helpfulness, but the missionary who is Christ's disciple accepts the privations of the foreign field for a purpose not theological but spiritual. He is an ambassador to carry the good will of Christians in one country to the citizens of another in the hope that the latter will be moved to drink of the same fountain of goodwill as that by which he and his fellows are quickened.

We often hear men called ambassadors of goodwill, but where in the secular world can men be found whose lives compare in effectiveness with those of enlightened Christian missionaries—the American Board type? Many societies for international reform feel that they have done their work when they have issued pamphlets on the subject of peace and distributed them. Such educational processes are undoubtedly necessary. Other societies feel that they have done more when they have organized a system of visits of internationally-minded men between the nations. This kind of interchange must also be counted an important factor in the development of peace. But how weak and sporadic appear these attempts in relation to the work of the foreign missionary, who takes his place for life in a foreign nation as an adopted son, who

learns the language and psychology of his new brothers and sisters, who builds himself day in, day out, into the life of the people, showing them how they may promote their own welfare. It is under the touch of the missionary that schools and colleges, hospitals and neighborhood houses, have come into being in China and Japan. Western medicine and the modern educational system of China were introduced into that country by missionaries. Rev. George W. Shepherd, a missionary of the American Board, has had a chief part, as one of the aides appointed by President Chiang Kai-shek, in the development of the New Life Movement which has brought so many blessings to the peasantry of China. Foreign missionaries have done their work so well in those ancient civilizations that native leaders of spiritual dimensions as great as those of the missionaries themselves have emerged. Kagawa of Japan, Chiang Kai-shek himself—these are leaders who would be recognized as such in any nation in any generation.

The basic strategy of the Christian Church in international affairs can be simply stated: it is to raise up in every country a sufficient number of leaders such as those already named, and a sufficient number of followers imbued with the spirit of Christ, *to create a world community reaching across national lines*; a community which will link the nations together in mutual understanding and perpetual peace.

Ambassadors of Goodwill

No war, or any series of wars, will daunt the faith of the missionary or of the Church which sends him out that God's will for the world is peace and not conflict. Wars will not frighten these ambassadors of goodwill. It is no new thing for missionaries of the American Board and their associates in China and Japan to be in situations of warfare and personal peril. When the first missionaries from the American Board went to Japan soon after the Meiji Restoration, Christi-

anity was still forbidden to Japanese by edicts posted all over the Empire. The test case on which these edicts were finally removed was that of the language teacher and writer for our missionaries; arrested on suspicion of being a Christian he died in prison after confessing under examination that he was. Internal fighting still occurred after the missionaries arrived. Although the fighting in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 never reached Japan, life and thought in Japan were affected by the war situation, and many of the Christians had to serve in the army along with their fellow citizens. The present conflict, therefore, while it is reported already to have involved national sacrifices far exceeding those in the Russo-Japanese War, has found both missionaries and church members equipped with a background of experience in war situations.

Even more in China have the missionaries and the churches lived dangerously through the hundred and ten years since Elijah Coleman Bridgman went as the first American missionary to China. The annual reports of the American Board and the files of the *Missionary Herald* tell an impressive story of the way in which Christianity has spread there "in spite of dungeon, fire, and sword." For the first thirteen years of the residence of Bridgman and his associates in Canton, evacuations were frequent. Even when they were able to live peacefully in the tiny foreign settlement on Shameen Island, regular missionary work was forbidden and converts became Christians at the risk of their lives.

The story is told of a revolt against the imperial government at Amoy in 1853, followed by the recapture of the city by the imperial forces in 1854 after a siege of two and a half months during which the missionary residences were frequently in the zone of fire. After the sharpest naval engagement one missionary counted the marks of about one hundred balls varying in size from a few ounces to ten pounds. In reporting, he commented upon the damage to the roof

and other parts of the house, but took the experience in his stride and rejoiced that no one had been injured and that the repairs proved inexpensive!

Four years later, in the fighting between the British and Chinese at Canton, the mission premises had to be evacuated and were looted and destroyed. Included in the loss was the whole equipment of the press which was then the leading mission press in China, but the mission went back and took up the task again. The long years of the devastating Taiping Rebellion fortunately passed without direct damage to the work and program of the American Board or other missions, largely because that work was for the most part confined to a few coastal cities. However there was rioting against our mission in Foochow that threatened to become serious. The Tientsin massacre of 1870 brought increased tension for months. During the French attack on Foochow in 1884, a city pastor who was planning to take his wife to a place of safety in the country quietly remained on the job when he found that his going would create a panic among the neighbors. And a prayer-meeting continued with the reports of artillery filling the air as an arsenal was being bombarded only a few miles away.

A baptism of fire came to the churches and the missions in North China in 1900, when the imperial court diverted into an anti-foreign movement the Boxer unrest that was aimed primarily against the dynasty. The fifteen missionaries and children of the American Board in Shansi and its three missionaries at Paotingfu were killed, together with hundreds of Christian Chinese associated with its missions. Most of the mission property throughout the whole of the North China area was pillaged and destroyed.

In all the years of the Board's history, no such overwhelming blow had been received. Yet within two years missionaries were back even in Shansi. The next quarter-century witnessed a remarkable growth of the churches and of the progress of

educational and medical service which had been slowly developing in the preceding forty years. Indeed, the complete destruction of so much of the property in all the missions led to a rethinking of much of the work, and to the development of a series of the first union educational institutions. The blood of the martyrs proved to be the seed not only of the church, but of a much more influential educational program. Fortunately the missions in the South passed through anxious weeks and months, but escaped the full force of the Boxer fury.

The last thirty-nine years have seen the anti-Manchu Revolution of 1911-12, and its revolutionary effect upon the whole pattern of Chinese national life; the long period of struggle between the war-lords who inherited the military power of the empire and the first president; and then the Revolution of 1926-28 which ended the regime of the war-lords and began a period of reconstruction of the national life. Even before the process of Japanese absorption of Manchuria began in 1931, this reconstruction was progressing at an accelerating rate.

Through all of these changes the work of the American Board has gone forward. The missionaries have for the most part remained at their stations, with occasional temporary evacuations under consular pressure. Without fear for their personal safety they have learned to keep steadily on with all that was possible of the regular program, while affording protection and relief to victims of war, famine and flood. The church members and Chinese associates on the missions' staffs have, of course, entered still more fully into the danger and suffering of their fellow-citizens. Their record through the years has been one to win admiration and to prepare them also for the present fiery trials. All alike have learned to endure "as seeing Him who is invisible."

The Missionary in Time of War

In China a veritable revolution in religious interest is taking place. The missionaries have stayed with their Chinese friends when the latter have been compelled to remain behind the Japanese lines. They have gone with their Chinese friends when they have been forced to trek to the west over innumerable miles of mountain road. Thus the Chinese have realized that Christianity provides the kind of understanding loyalty of which their country has need. Reports from many communities indicate an increasing interest in the Gospel. The mission schools are full to overflowing. One Chinese leader writes as follows to one of the Secretaries of the American Board: (in a very literal translation of the original Chinese)

"A long time I have not waited upon you with any communication. I am supposing that it must be all things have gone smoothly and to your taste, and you have invited Heaven's grace. Paoting because of the heroism (not recking life or death) of Elmer Galt, had from the start a relief work for some thousands of destitute refugees. To be able to sow seed daily upon the grateful heart-fields of some thousands of people—why, this is an eventuality never seen before in the history of Paoting, and an opportunity which would be hard to find again in a thousand years. But whether such an opportunity can actually be used, depends entirely upon whether we can avail ourselves of persons; if we let any of the Paoting westerners flit away, then the impossibilities of continuance (of such good conditions) can positively be predicted.

"In the North China Upheaval all were thinking that mission work would be overwhelmed and stopped. Who would have thought that we should have a revival of mission work? The more of such opportunities we see, the more we feel their importance. When the common people, conquered, have in their minds and hearts no comfort and no hope at all, this is truly a time when they *may* turn unto God. This again may be for North China the 'fortune within misfortune.'

(signed) CHANG HENG-CH'IU"

It is in time of danger that the Christian missionary shows his mettle. It is then that he reveals the stuff of which the

Gospel is made. It is then that his brotherliness and goodwill shine out in bright contrast to the black background of slaughter and hatred engendered by war. It is then that one can most plainly see the eternal meaning of Christian missions. *They are the means by which the Church girdles the world with brotherhood.*

Relief work affords a mighty opportunity today for American Christians to pour out their hearts and resources without any fear of partisanship or injustice to any people. Under missionary auspices relief is given with charity for all and malice toward none, and provides the new mind-set of cooperation which the citizens of America as well as those of Japan and China need.

The Spirit of Brotherhood

Once the Emperor Constantine looked out upon an empire apparently ready to disintegrate. Whither could he turn to discover the spirit of unity that he felt was needed? He observed that little groups of believers in Jesus Christ had set up churches in almost every important community. They believed in brotherhood. They believed in unity. Constantine made his decision. By establishing Christianity as the religion of the Empire, although he did unspeakable injury to the Church, he won a new unity for his Empire and ensured to it a continuing existence for centuries.

When one looks out on the world today, he sees a picture similar to that which met the eye of Constantine, except that it is drawn on a much larger scale. The whole world is broken up. The nations seek their own ends. They are concerned with nothing so much as themselves. They lack the one thing needful: a spirit of unity. In the opinion of the author, *foreign missions are the greatest peace agency on earth* because they furnish the very spirit of brotherhood which the world must have if it is to enjoy the blessings of cooperation.

Here is evidence that missionary enterprise is really bring-

ing into the hearts of people in China and Japan that will to mutual forbearance and that desire for further understanding which is the only foundation for a new international structure—psychological, political, or economic.*

"It was only an old woman, a very old woman, clutching a little girl in her lap. Both were trembling with fear. Near by was an old man, his face deeply wreathed in wrinkles. He gripped a cane and stared at me with a dull, vacant expression. . . . My heart bled for these old and defenseless people. 'Poor old woman,' I said, 'why didn't you get away from here before the fighting started?' Of course, they did not understand Japanese, and yet I believe she must have felt intuitively what I was saying."

"They (the prisoners) were both mere boys, like the others slim and attractive. They might have been mistaken for girls. They turned toward me and began talking rapidly, through their tears, saying something that of course I could not understand. I shook my head to let them know this, and there was a fresh burst of words and wailing. Then one took out of his pocket a notebook and flipped the pages until he came to a small picture, pasted there. It was of an elderly woman. I realized that they were brothers and that the picture was their mother's. Why they were weeping, I do not know, except for fear of being captured and executed. A sharp pain seemed to touch my heart and I would have liked to free them on the spot, but there was nothing I could do. I tried to show them by gestures and a smile that they would not be harmed. Their tears stopped and a faint shadow of joy crossed their faces."

"I was filled with anger at the sight of life being destroyed so carelessly. So much noble effort goes into the development of a single human life. . . ."

Chinese Christians seem to harbor little feeling of revenge against the Japanese. Thanks to the example set by the President and his wife, the nation seems to be permeated by a mood of forgiveness. When the railroad to Tehchow was cut, Miss Lucia Lyons was caught in Tientsin. She sends the following story of our Hopei American Board Church:

"But I cannot close this letter," Miss Lyons writes, "without a tribute to the attitude of the Chinese Christians towards the people of Japan, especially toward the Christians there. They pray for

*Excerpts from the diary of a Christian Japanese soldier.

them as they do for the church in China, and really feel that their union in Christ is stronger than all that separates. This is especially noticeable when a Japanese Christian soldier comes to our church, (for we are practically living in the midst of an armed camp, and from time to time have such a visitor). The words, "I am also a Christian" banish at once the expression of strain and apprehension on the faces of our people. Last Sunday an English-speaking soldier came—a man who is a graduate of an engineering college in his own country and is teacher of a Sunday School class of High School boys—now a private soldier in the transportation corps. 'What a pity! What a waste!' said one of your young teachers when she heard who and what he was. The man had a talk with Pastor Huo, and in leaving, since he was about to go to the front, he asked for a verse from the Chinese Bible, with Mr. Huo's autograph, to carry in his cap. The verse Mr. Huo gave him was this: 'Where there is neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, but Christ is all and in all.' "

Here is indeed a standard. The Christian Church is under an unescapable obligation to hold to it and strive towards it. For the spirit of the Gospel, so radiantly expressed in this letter, is luminous with a goodwill which, we fervently believe, shall shine at last in every corner of the world.

The May Issue of "Social Action" is to be Written by You

All of our subscribers are anxious to know what is being done throughout the country by churches, adult education groups, young people's groups, seminars, etc., to make democracy live.

What have you to tell us about social action in your community?

Tell us of effective discussion groups and community projects. Send us photographs of your group at work.

If you have discovered effective techniques, please tell us about them. And there is no room for undue modesty. If you are in doubt about the worth of what you are doing, please write us anyway. We want a flood of letters. That means you!

—The Editors

Summons to Mankind

(Christmas Eve, 1939)



We, who can soar into the light-year space
That stretches vast beyond our star-domed sky;
Chisel the Victory of Samothrace;
Wing round the world; create a symphony;
We, whose intrepid minds can challenge fate,
Revel in myth, delve in philosophy;
Have that within us which transcends all hate
To seal our kinship with divinity.

So, on this eve before the Christ-child's birth;
Now, when mankind is torn with bitter strife,
Let us recall, though terror shakes the earth,
It was by love that Jesus came to life.
Through our dark disillusionment must shine
His faith in man, humble and yet divine.

—*Louise Burton Laidlaw*

The editors of SOCIAL ACTION are very grateful to the author of "Summons to Mankind" for permission to use the poem. Written especially for Christmas, it is timeless and season-less in its spirit.